



NEWSLETTER OF THE LONDON CHAPTER,
ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
P.O. Box 2574, Station B, London, ON. N6A 4G9



September, 1992

92-5

The Archaeology of Edinburgh Castle, Scotland

Peter A. Yeoman

Fife Regional Council - Fife Archaeological Service

And now for something different - this month we feature a presentation by the regional archaeologist of Fife (a district just north of Edinburgh, in Scotland). Mr. Yeoman will review the results of his excavations at Edinburgh Castle, scene to much Scottish and British political machinations over the last several centuries! Come on out for this wee tale and for a look at the refuse of Kings, Queens and Princes! Please note, in order to accommodate Mr. Yeoman, Speaker Night this month is **Thursday, September 17th**. Everything else is the same: meeting time at 8 PM at the London Museum of Archaeology (a.k.a. Museum of Indian Archaeology). See You there.

Next Month: On October 8th, Laura Finsten, of McMaster University, will discuss her work in the Yucatan region of Mexico..... Aren't we getting international!!

CONGRATS, HARRI AND KAREN!!!!

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EXECUTIVE REPORT

The Chapter's archaeological assessment of Grosvenor Lodge was started recently. Under the direction of Tom Arnold and Lorelyn Giese, volunteers have been coming out on Saturday mornings from 9 - 12 to test pit the property. So far both historic prehistoric material have been recovered. This assessment will continue for some time to come, so if you have a free Saturday morning, come on out and screen a few test pits.

A new attraction to Grosvenor Lodge is the recently completed exhibit on the Molson Historic Huron site, excavated by Paul Lennox. The exhibit will be at the Lodge for the next while, so come and check it out. While there, check out the meeting facilities at the Lodge. Chapter members interested in using the Lodge to hold a meeting, workshop, etc., can do so by talking to Pat Weatherhead and arranging a time when the facility would be available. Call 645-2845 for more information. Also, the Chapter is still looking for contributions to its portion of the library at Grosvenor Lodge. Anyone with possible donations should also contact Pat.

OAS Annual Symposium

October 23-25, 1992, Toronto

Impact & Influence: Early Native and European Contact in the America's
(See your latest ARCH NOTES for more information)

SOCIAL REPORT

The Chapter's summer picnic was held on August 8th. Dark clouds kept a number of people away, but the rain held off and the picnic was enjoyed by all who came. Thanks goes to the London Museum of Archaeology for loaning us their atlatl and double ball equipment. Anyone interested in making the Chapter its own atlatl and double ball set? Also, now that the summer picnic is over, time to start planning for Christmas! Anyone interested in hosting the Chapter Christmas party this year?

Some members have expressed an interest in holding our monthly speaker night meetings at Grosvenor Lodge, rather than at the Museum, since the Lodge is more accessible for those who take the bus. Please let the Executive know if you have a preference. Any change in venue would only occur after the membership has been asked to vote on the issue.

Members will want to attend this month's speaker night for more than just meeting fellow members and listening to a good talk - The Chapter T-shirt contest will be finalized then! Please send in your designs or bring them to the meeting, we'll select the winning entry at that time.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Déjà-vu! This month's article by Ian and Sue Kenyon is a companion to Ian's contribution in the last issue of **KEWA**. And Ian is even warning us of a third article to follow, sticking to his theme of food, diet, eating, table manners, ceramics and consumption (economic, not TB!) in 19th century Ontario. Combined these three articles would make a nice opening chapter to a manuscript on 19th century ceramics.....Hmmmmmm!

PORK AND POTATOE, FLOUR AND TEA¹: Descriptions of Food and Meals in Upper Canada, 1814-1867

Ian & Susan Kenyon

Much has been written about the diet and foodways of 19th century Ontario (e.g. H. Abrahamson 1981; U. Abrahamson 1966:162-201; Bates 1978; Clow et al. 1990; Crouch 1980; Guillet 1933:177-207; Guillet 1968; Russell 1973:84-106; Traill 1969): this present paper can hardly claim to offer anything fresh. If it has any merit, it is in providing a series of contemporary extracts — an anthology of sorts — describing food in Upper Canada.

Here we offer an overview of food in Ontario, then called Upper Canada, covering the period from the end of the 1812-14 war to Canadian confederation in 1867. This paper mostly deals with people having a British cultural background, and in particular looks at pioneer diet in the "backwoods". The sometimes different food traditions of First Nations and Franco-Ontario populations are subjects deserving separate treatment. The focus here is on domestic life, so little attention is paid to food in taverns or inns (see Guillet 1954, 1956, 1958), or the diets of lumber camps and other men's work groups, the military, or institutions such as prisons, boarding schools, and hospitals (many of these topics are covered in Clow et al. 1990).

Motivation for writing this article comes from an interest in the archaeology of 19th century Ontario, particularly with the ceramic tablewares found on domestic sites (e.g. Kenyon 1992). Ceramics were part of a foodways system involving the acquisition, preservation, preparation and consumption of food — a system in turn linked to the economy, society and ethnic composition of Upper Canada. To understand the use of ceramics, then, it is ultimately necessary to view these within the cultural context of diet and food consumption.

We rely on information taken from such printed historical sources as travel books, emigrant's guides, diaries, settler's accounts and reminiscences (Waterston et al. 1989 provides a splendid annotated bibliography of the travel literature). In excess of 120 such sources were consulted: from almost 60 of these (see bibliography on pp. 23-25), quotations describing food and meals were extracted and then arranged by topic (see the Appendix, pp. 13-23; in the text below these are cited using an alphanumeric system, e.g. D.5).

ELEMENTS OF DIET

A glance at the Appendix reveals considerable diversity in the diet of Upper Canada — a wide variety of cereals, vegetables, fruits, meats and beverages were consumed. Despite such diversity, in account after account certain provisions are repeatedly mentioned: pork, potatoes, wheat flour, and tea (A.7-A.20).

Provision Lists and Consumption Estimates

Some measure of the importance of these four commodities can be seen in emigrant guides that advise prospective settlers about what provisions would be needed to support their families before their farms began producing crops. Three such provision lists, ranging in date from 1820 to 1880, are shown in Table I, each giving quantities of food supplies that supposedly would last a family a full year. Although family size unit varies from author to author, when these provision

TABLE I: RECOMMENDED PROVISIONS FOR ONE YEAR

SOURCE	Graves 1820	Cheshyre 1864	Emigrant Guide 1880
ITEM	For a family of 6	For a man and a woman	For a family of 5
Meat	2190 lb	1½ barrels pork [300 lb]	2 barrels pork [400 lb]
Flour	2190 lb	4 barrels [784 lb]	8 barrels [1568 lb]
Potatoes	50 barrels [6750 lb]	30 bushels [1800 lb]	80 bushels [4800 lb]
Fish		1 barrel [200 lb?]	1 barrel herrings [200 lb?]
Tea	18 lb	14 lb	30 lb
Sugar	200 lb		
Salt		5s. worth	½ barrel
Sources: McQuat 1951:28; Cheshyre 1864:39; Anon. 1880:76 Notes: 1 barrel flour = 196 lb; 1 barrel pork = 200 lb; 1 barrel potatoes = 135 lb; 1 bushel potatoes = 60 lb; 1 barrel fish = 200 lb?			

TABLE II: QUANTITIES OF PROVISIONS PER DAY PER ADULT MALE EQUIVALENT

	<i>Dietary Recommendations from Emigrant's Guides</i>						<i>Estimates from Census/Diary Data</i>			
SOURCE	Graves 1820		Cheshyre 1864		Guide Book 1880		Census Estimate 1860		Sibbald/Johnson 1830s-40s	
ITEM	Subtot.	Total	Subtot.	Total	Subtot.	Total	Subtot.	Total	Subtot.	Total
Pork (lb)			.46		.31		.26		.38	
Beef/Veal (lb)							.17		.16	
Mutton/Lamb (lb)							.05		.10	
TOTAL MEAT (lb)		1.00		.46		.31		.49		.64
Flour (lb)		1.00		1.19		1.24		.75		.55
Potatoes (lb)		4.61		2.74		3.81		2.30		4.93
Tea (in cups)		2.3		4.1		4.5		n.d.		n.d.
CALORIES		4307		3400		3692		2554		3291
PROTEIN (gm)		153		111		115		88		112

Sources: same as Table I for emigrant guide data; McInnis 1987 for 1861 Census data; O'Mara 1980 for Sibbald/Johnson families.

Notes: Number of cups of tea per day estimated by assuming that 190 cups can be brewed from 1 lb of tea (Johnson 1977:113). Following McInnis the provisions were calculated to adult male equivalents: husband = 1; wife = .8; child = .55 (a composite weighted average). Where O'Mara gives ranges for his estimates, the mid-range value was used. Since the Graves list was based on a diet of 1 lb meat and 1 lb flour per day per person regardless of age, these two values were not recalculated to male equivalents.

lists are standardized to adult male equivalents per day (Table II), they show roughly similar amounts of meat, flour, potatoes and tea. Even without supplementation, these three recommended diets would all satisfy standard daily caloric and protein nutritional requirements, although very low in vitamin A and calcium — deficiencies that could be remedied by consumption of dairy produce (Crouch 1980 provides a nutritional perspective of 19th century Ontario diet).

Similar quantities of meat, flour and potatoes can be seen in McInnis' (1987) analysis of 1861 Ontario census data in estimating average home consumption of agricultural produce. His statistics do not, of course, include grocery items like tea or sugar, which also would have been part of the diet. By examining diaries, O'Mara (1980) has attempted to calculate home consumption of the Sibbald/Johnson family farms for the 1830s and 1840s. His results are similar to those of McInnis. Like emigrant provision lists, these two studies (Table II) reveal a diet having meat (pork in particular), flour and potatoes as staples.

Despite some variation, as a whole this dietary information shows a daily per person consumption rate of roughly $\frac{1}{2}$ lb meat, 1 lb flour, and 3 to 4 lb of potatoes, washed down with several cups of tea.

Provisioning in the Backwoods

One property of pork, flour, potatoes and tea is that they could all be stored for considerable lengths of time, an important quality in the backwoods when supplies were not always easy to replenish (A.12;A.14). Samuel Strickland, an experienced backwoodsman, recommended that settlers building a log cabin dig out a cellar underneath the house to store potatoes, barrelled pork and other foodstuffs (A.9). Such dirt cellars kept provisions from freezing in winter and cool in summer.

Supplies sometimes ran short, when settlers could not even obtain basic provisions. In such hardship seasons, families relied on such limited and monotonous diets as potatoes and cabbage (A.3;A.4), oatmeal porridge (A.5), bread and tea alone (A.1), corn meal (A.2), or pea soup (A.6).

Pork

Pork, according to some writers, was the Canadian "national dish" (E.15), and for good reason since in the backwoods pigs were fairly easy to raise, not needing the extensive pasturage and extra degree of care required in beef cattle and sheep husbandry (Ferris and Kenyon 1986). Pork, and beef as well, could be preserved by cutting carcasses into four to six pound chunks, salting and then packing the pieces into brine-filled barrels, usually containing 200 lb of meat (A.37). For farmers, such barrelled pork was a highly marketable commodity. Pig flesh could also be preserved by curing, providing hams and bacon. According to the 1861 *Census of Canada*, the average Ontario farm produced 2.5 barrels of pork and 0.5 of beef. The standard mode of cooking pork was frying (A.33;F.7).

Potatoes

Introduced to Europe from the Americas, potatoes became an important food in Britain by the 18th century. A very productive crop, potatoes could be easily cellared for winter and spring use. According to the 1861 census the average Ontario farm had 1.04 acres of potatoes, yielding about 7000 lb per farm. What was not consumed by humans could be used as animal feed.

Flour

While sale of surplus barrelled meat and even potatoes could bring much needed income to farmers, wheat was the most important cash crop in Upper Canada, and the major agricultural export item (McCallum 1980). When milled, the standard 60 lb bushel of wheat yielded about 40 lb of flour (A.20). Typically flour was packed into 196 lb barrels for shipment and trade (i.e. the product of about 5 bushels of grain). In 1861, the average farm produced 187 bu of wheat, the equivalent of 37 barrels of flour, far in excess of the 8 or so barrels required to meet annual dietary needs of a farm family. Wheat flour could be made into a variety of foods (Traill 1969:86-104) including: yeast-leavened loaves of bread (A.7); griddle "cakes" or scones (A.11;A.17;A.33) raised with saleratus, a type of baking powder; "hasty puddings" or a sort of porridge; biscuits; and pie pastry.

Tea

Tea was the essential drink, or rather the notion of it — a hot herb-flavoured beverage. When Chinese tea could not be had, many wild plants served as a substitute (A.6;A.14;D.7;D.13;G.4;G.5; also Traill 1969:136-40). Burned bread crumbs, various cereals or even peas could be used to make a mock tea or coffee (A.2;A.4;A.6).

The Chinese tea sold in Upper Canada came in green and black types, both available in a number of grades (A.20;G.6). In black tea, the most expensive was called "Souchong" with "Congou" being cheaper, and "Bohea" the poorest quality. The premier green teas were "Gunpowder" and "Young Hyson"; ordinary "Hyson" and then "Twankay" were lesser grades. Green tea was widely used in Upper Canada, much to the dissatisfaction of many British visitors who preferred the black (A.28;A.35;D.14;E.3;G.2;G.3;G.6).

Other Foods

Pork was not the only meat available from Upper Canadian farms: there was also beef (A.13;A.20;A.29), mutton (A.13;A.24;A.27), as well as chicken (A.19), goose and turkey (A.34); and such animal by-products as eggs (A.12), milk (A.13;D.2), butter (A.19) and cheese (A.24;A.27).

In cereals, corn (A.2;A.16;A.22;A.24;D.12) and to a lesser extent buckwheat (A.22;A.24;D.12;F.3) and rye (A.22) could be used in baking. In some households a corn meal mush or porridge, called suppone, was popular (A.15;D.3) — a food Traill (1969:116) considered to be "the national dish".

A lack or shortage of vegetables other than potatoes was noted by a few writers (A.29). Nonetheless, a wide variety of vegetables were grown including cabbage (A.3;A.4;A.28), turnips (A.7), squash (B.10), pumpkins (E.14), cucumbers (B.13), radishes (F.10) and peas (A.7;B.13;E.5). From the orchard, apples were great favourites (D.14;E.9). Fruit preserves of many varieties were popular (A.25;A.26;E.16), as were pies and tarts (A.28;E.14).

Diet could be supplemented by the produce of the forest, including venison (A.11;A.13;A.18;A.22;A.29;E.11;F.1), wild fowl (A.11;A.18;A.29;E.11) and fish (A.19;A.29;E.4;E.5;E.6;E.11), as well as bush fruit (A.18). While the use of game was associated with the backwoods, even in Toronto venison, fish and wild fowl were all available for sale (A.29). The forests also produced maple sugar (A.24;A.28;F.16).

Today most of us expect to eat three meals a day that in order are called breakfast, lunch, and dinner, the last meal being the largest. This meal schedule is of relatively recent origin, and not typical of Upper Canada.

One aspect of Canadian foodways that received much comment from British visitors was the habit of eating only three times a day (B.2;B.12;B.13;B.14;C.5). Many educated British people of the period were accustomed to eating four meals, which through the day were named breakfast, dinner, tea and supper; or, a more elegant variation was having a late dinner, the meal order becoming breakfast, lunch, dinner and supper. In Canada, however, the schedule was normally breakfast, dinner and supper, the meals known in Britain as "supper" and "tea" being combined into one (C.3). A number of accounts, using almost the same language, note that "tea" in Canada was called "supper" (B.12;C.1;C.2;C.4;C.5).

In Upper Canada some people retained the British four-meal pattern (A.26), also found in fashionable city hotels. For example, one Toronto hotel offered breakfast at 8 a.m., luncheon at 1 p.m., dinner at 5 p.m. and, later, tea in the guests' rooms (B.15) — "English hours" according to Anne Langton, who stayed there in 1837. Among wealthier people in Britain having a late dinner (say 5 p.m. to 8 p.m.) had become popular in the late 18th century (Palmer 1984). In Canada, however, dinners were usually at mid-day sometime between 12 p.m. and 2 p.m., with supper the late meal between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m. (B.1-7;B.10-13). Some visitors regarded such early dinners as "mediaeval" (B.10), yet Upper Canadians were slow to take up English fashion, only rarely are late dinners mentioned (B.8). One writer "C.H.C.", in a passage that attempts humour, links dinner time and diet with political orientation: pork dinner at 1 p.m. being "republican" or American-inspired, and a late dinner of beef or mutton at 8 p.m. as "conservative" and British (B.9).

Notwithstanding comments by middle class British visitors or even Arnold Palmer's (1984) modern study of meal times *Movable Feasts*, the three meal pattern found in Canada of breakfast-dinner-supper was not of American origin nor was it unknown in 19th century Britain; in fact, there it was the usual meal order of working people in the city and in the country (Burnett 1968; Campbell 1966; Drummond and Wilbraham 1957). In Britain, the three meal pattern, with the largest meal of the day being a mid-day dinner, persisted among working people into the 20th century, as it did in rural Ontario (e.g. Reeves 1913:113-130 for England; Powell 1968:4-5 for Scotland; Arensberg 1968:56-7 for Ireland; Mouse 1974 for Ontario).

THE MEALS

So far this paper has discussed generally foods used by settlers in Upper Canada; this section considers when in the daily meal schedule such foods were eaten.

The English Meal Pattern

In English foodways, dinner, whether late or early, is the largest and most complex meal of the day. In 19th century England, working people typically had tea, bread and butter for breakfast, and often the same for supper. Meat and potatoes were for dinner, usually being absent at breakfast and supper. In contrast, tea was taken with the first and last meals of the day but not normally at dinner, where water or wine, if affordable, were considered proper (as it was in formal dining in the United States according to Beecher 1977:88). In wealthier English

households, dinners could be quite elaborate, and served in multiple courses, including soups, meats, vegetables, followed by desserts. (This paragraph is largely based on Burnett 1968; Drummond and Wilbraham 1957; Walsh 1859).

The Canadian Meal Pattern

The Appendix provides descriptions of breakfasts (Section D), dinners (E) and suppers (F) extracted from the contemporary literature on Upper Canada. Within each meal, quotations are arranged in ascending order depending on number of food items named in the extract. Considering the variety of sources consulted, some descriptions are undoubtedly incomplete. For example, Head's account of a bush breakfast (D.1) is counted as a one-element meal since it specifically mentions only eggs, but presumably the boiling kettle he describes was used to make tea or coffee. Moreover, meal descriptions are probably biased by the interests and cultural backgrounds of the authors, more likely inclined to write of the excellent, the horrid or the unexpected, than of the everyday.

Figure 1: Major Food Types at Meals
Source: Percentages based on food descriptions in Appendix

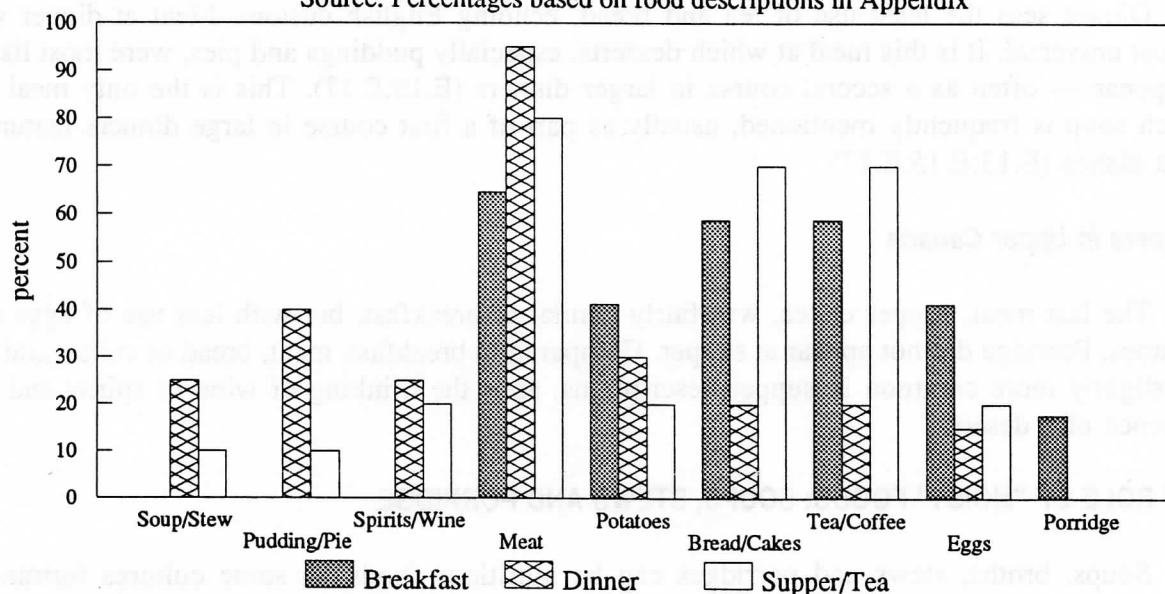


Figure 1 provides a quantitative summary of basic food elements for the three meals (i.e. the percent of meal descriptions mentioning the food item). More properly these percentages ought to be considered as minimum numbers in view of the probable incompleteness of some accounts. When combined with descriptions that cover multiple meals in a day (B.11-13), the sample for this analysis consists of 17 breakfast accounts and 20 each for dinner and supper.

As a whole, the Upper Canadian meal pattern differs from the English one in several ways. First, in Canada tea could be taken at dinner although not as often as at breakfast and supper. Some British visitors specifically mentioned the Canadian habit drinking of tea at all three meals, and even regarded this as unhealthy (G.1;G.2;G.3 see also H.1 and H.2). A second difference from the English pattern is the greater use of meat at breakfast and supper in Upper Canada. For

all three meals meat is mentioned more than 60% of the time, dinner being the highest at 95% (Figure 1). Once again some British visitors remarked on the Canadian habit of eating meat at all meals, one condemning this practice as uneconomical and too American (A.35;A.36; I.8). While many visitors were impressed by the abundance of fare on Upper Canadian tables, they also complained of the sameness of the meals, which were not as differentiated as those back home (A.28;B.1).

Breakfasts in Upper Canada

The Upper Canada breakfast could be a more complex affair than English breakfast, often including tea, eggs, potatoes, a flour-based product like bread or pancakes, and meat, usually pork, ham or bacon. Sometimes porridge was eaten instead of bread (D.6). In fact, as Isabella Bird observed in Nova Scotia (H.3), colonial breakfasts, at least at their best, more resembled in their variety the famous "Highland" breakfasts of Scotland (Hope 1989:219-231; McNeill 1974:88-93) than English ones.

Dinners in Upper Canada

Dinner sees the least use of tea and bread, echoing English custom. Meat at dinner was almost universal. It is this meal at which desserts, especially puddings and pies, were most likely to appear — often as a second course in larger dinners (E.15;E.17). This is the only meal for which soup is frequently mentioned, usually as part of a first course in large dinners featuring meat dishes (E.13;E.15;E.17).

Suppers in Upper Canada

The last meal, supper or tea, was fairly similar to breakfast, but with less use of eggs and potatoes. Porridge did not appear at supper. Compared to breakfast, meat, bread or cakes, and tea are slightly more common in supper descriptions, as is the drinking of wine or spirits and the presence of a desert.

THE ROLE OF "MOIST" FOODS: SOUPS, STEWS AND PORRIDGE

Soups, broths, stews and porridges can be nutritious foods, in some cultures forming a dietary base (e.g. I.1). In Upper Canada, however, these were not as widely used as might have been expected.

British Origins

Some comparison has already been made between the diet of England and that of Upper Canada. Yet to use England as a baseline for looking at Canadian foodways is misleading, for more British settlers had their origins in Scotland and Ireland than they did in England. Irish and Scottish diets of the 19th century were distinctive, and in a sense contained survivals of a more ancient cuisine than seen in many parts of England; namely, a "moist" diet based on milk and butter, various pottages and porridges of cereal or meat, and flat-cakes, not risen with yeast like oven bread. (e.g. Cullen 1981 for Ireland; McNeill 1974 for Scotland).

Among working people in England, a diet of dairy produce, broths and porridges, and beer

was already being transformed in the late 18th century into one where tea (introduced to England in 1650s), cane sugar, and baker's bread replaced the old "moist" foods (Mennell 1985; Mintz 1979; Wilson 1984). In fact, in England, particularly in the south, many working people had a distaste for liquid foods, as observed by Sir Frederic Eden in his great work *The State of the Poor* of 1797:

With regard to broths and soups, composed of barley-meal, or oat-meal, and potatoes, the aversion to them in many parts of the South [of England] is almost insuperable. I have known instances during the last winter, when the Poor were extremely distressed by the high price of provisions, of their rejecting soup which was served at a Gentleman's table. Their common outcry was: "this is washy stuff, that affords no nourishment: we will not be fed on meal, and chopped potatoes, like hogs!" Even in their employers, ancient prejudices are, in general, so deeply rooted, that they are persuaded, that a diet, which chiefly consists of liquids, will not enable their labourers to perform their work; or, (to use an homely phrase,) that it will not stick to their ribs, like plain dry wheaten bread. (Eden 1797:533)

When soup was consumed in England it was likely to be part of the first course of a middle class meal having meat and potatoes as staple items. The aversion to soup described by Eden survived into 20th century England: a dietary survey taken between the Wars clearly showed that poorer people ate far less soup than the wealthy, who limited it to a secondary element in dinner (Burnett 1968:307-319).

"Moist" Foods in Upper Canada

English distaste for liquid foods appears to have been transferred to Upper Canada, with its "dry" (but sometimes greasy) diet. While immigrants from Scotland and Ireland brought their "moist" food traditions with them (I.2;I.3), the distinctiveness of their cuisine could be soon modified by Canadian ways (I.6;I.7).

As for soup in Upper Canada, Thomas Fowler observed in 1832 that "...I have seldom seen soups in this country" (Guillet 1958:3:62); in the same year Dunlop noted that "Soup is unknown in these parts" (A.31). As discussed earlier, soups, except in hardship seasons (e.g. A.6;A.7), were rarely eaten as meals in themselves but rather as a first course in formal dinners, following English middle class tradition. Stews or meat pottages are scarcely mentioned at all (F.1).

Porridge, too, appears to be less common than might be thought given the number of Scottish settlers in Canada. Porridge is mentioned largely as an occasional substitute for bread, potatoes and pork for breakfast. In Canada attitudes about porridge varied. For example, Anne Langton (D.6) served her guests porridge for breakfast the night after a fancy dinner party in 1838, declaring that porridge was "a great favourite with most of the backwoodsmen." Yet the Rev. William Proudfoot, newly arrived from Scotland in 1832, observed that "nobody uses porridge in this country," regretting that his own *bairns* preferred fried ham, potatoes, bread and tea for breakfast instead (D.9). Similarly Kennedy (A.5) recounts that when a starving party of Scottish settlers came across a man in the backwoods, whose only food supply was oatmeal, the children kept crying for bread as they did not like gruel or porridge. A countryman told Patrick Shirreff, a Scottish farmer touring North America, that he greatly preferred the New World diet of meat three times a day to the porridge diet back home (I.4; see also I.5).

Perhaps one reason for the unpopularity of "moist" foods at Upper Canadian tables was their association with the weak and disempowered: porridges, gruels and soups were foods for the nursery and the sickroom, the diet of the prison and the workhouse.

CONCLUSIONS

While a wide variety of foods were consumed in Upper Canada, pork, potatoes, flour and tea formed the basics of the backwoods diet. In most households the daily meal schedule was breakfast, dinner and supper. In their content there was a degree of differentiation among these meals, but, at least in some households, eating meat and drinking tea could take place at all three meals, unlike British custom.

Moist foods, like soups and porridges, were not as widely used in Upper Canada as drier foods like fried pork and bread. Emigrants from Ireland and Scotland had foodways differing from those of Upper Canada; however, their traditional cuisines were often soon changed — ultimately blending into the North American "melting pot".

END NOTES

1. Anyone pedantic enough to flip through this paper in search of an end note to the title of an article (and to read one printed in 6pt type) will undoubtedly be troubled by the spelling of potato. The "e" spelling was of course employed by some writers in the 19th century (A.14); its use in the title was only meant to add some "color", and in no way should be taken as a tribute to the spelling abilities of Dan Quail (A.29) — whatever his name is — or for that matter as a criticism of his intellect (A.37). Neil — this one is for you.

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A. GENERAL DIET

Hardship Diets

A.1 [In the Queen's Bush about 1850] For a whole year the first settlers lived on bread without butter, and tea without milk or sugar. (Smith 1923:186)

A.2 [In the Ausable River area, 1840s] For tea we used burned bread, and peas for making imitation coffee. When our first child was born, there was not a pound of flour in the house, and, when I went to neighbour after neighbour with a pillow-slip to borrow some, I found plenty of corn-meal, but no flour. At last I was able to get a little...but this was only enough for the mother of the babe, and I had to do with corn-meal for six weeks. (Smith 1923:238-39)

A.3 [In Huron County]...it was often potatoes and cabbage for meals one day, varied by cabbage and potatoes the next. One neighbour was without flour for two weeks. (Smith 1923: 241)

A.4 Sometimes, owing to rough weather, supplies of flour at Kincardine became exhausted, and then the settler's food was limited to potatoes and fish. Occasionally, in winter, the fish gave out, too; and then it was potatoes and cow-cabbage. Some families lived for weeks at a time on these, with a little milk and butter added....In the first two years [of settlement], we never once tasted meat, and our tea was made by using burned bread crumbs. (Smith 1923:245-46)

A.5 ...he in his kind, hospitable way was busy preparing what he had, and was making oatmeal porridge, for oatmeal was the only thing in the way of food diet that he possessed at that time. But the children kept crying for bread, and said that they did not like porridge or gruel. (Kennedy 1973:43)

A.6 [Letter from a settler in Douro] The first year, we had no potatoes until August, and we were glad to gather any wild plants which we were told could be safely used as greens, to make a little variety. Salt pork, pease soup, and bread, being but bad food for children, sometimes for weeks together, we have used tea made of the young shoots of the hemlock-pine, or burnt Indian corn for coffee...Our provisions occasionally ran short for the first three years; and at times we have literally used plain bran made into cakes, and used Indian corn boiled, when we could not procure flour. (Hall 1829:166-67)

Provisions in the Backwoods

A.7 We have no great variety in our food as pease-soup and boiled pork make our dinner every day. We have no potatoes yet...At first it seemed odd to dine without them, but boiled pease, pea-soup, bread and sometimes turnips do very well. We have excellent bread, and in this respect are much better off than many people at first settling up in the woods, for I have heard of two or three families in our own class, who, for the first six months had no food of any kind except salt pork for breakfast, dinner and tea, without even bread. We have excellent milk and plenty of it. (Stewart 1905:41)

A.8 [Settling in the Backwoods in 1826] My stock of provisions comprised a parcel of groceries, half a barrel of pork and a barrel of flour. (Strickland 1853:I:91)

A.9 [Recommendations for building a log cabin in the Backwoods] A log shanty, twenty-four feet long by sixteen, is large enough to begin with, and should be roofed either with shingles or troughs. A small cellar should be dug near the fire-place, commodious enough to hold twenty or thirty bushels of potatoes, a barrel or two of pork, &c. (Strickland 1853:I:165)

A.10 At the time of my visit to Goderich, in the end of August, 1833, the population were chiefly subsisting on flour and salt pork, imported from Detroit. (Shirreff 1835:381)

A.11 For our provisions, cakes made of flour; salt pork of the best; tea and coffee without milk; with the occasional luxury of a few partridges and pigeons, or even a haunch of venison of our own shooting; also some potatoes. We wanted no more. (Thompson 1884:65)

A.12 [In the Lake Simcoe area in 1836] I...had not exerted myself to obtain a fresh supply of meat. In consequence the men are devouring my best bacon which was to have been kept for other purposes; eggs were getting short; the last chick is killed and devoured; and even Edward [the writer's husband] when at his best dares not live on salt meat and I cannot eat fat. One of our poor neighbours in the shanties is also out of flour. We have not enough to supply him, and his wife is sickening of potatoes, which involves the starving of her infant. (O'Brien 1968:251)

A.13 ...the larder is so cheaply and abundantly supplied. We are much worse off, however, than we shall be next year, venison being our chief article of consumption — brought to our door at one halfpenny a pound. We have occasionally beef (not the best) with mutton and fowls; potatoes bad, and dear. I bought a young milch cow and a calf for twenty-four dollars — she gives a good supply of milk and cream — butter from 7½d. to 9d. per lb. (Radcliff 1953:91)

A.14 You see, then, that a settler in the bush requires to hold himself pretty independent, not only of the luxuries and delicacies of the table, but not unfrequently even of the very necessities. One time no pork is to be procured; another time there is a scarcity of flour, owing to some accident that has happened to the mill, or for the want of proper supplies of wheat for grinding; or perhaps the weather and bad roads at the same time prevent a team coming up, or people from going down....The potatoe is indeed a great blessing here; new settlers would otherwise be often greatly distressed, and the poor man and his family who are without resources, without the potatoe must starve. Once our stock of tea was exhausted, and we were unable to procure more. In this dilemma milk would have been an excellent substitute, or coffee, if we had possessed it; but we had neither the one nor the other, so we agreed to try the Yankee tea — hemlock sprigs boiled. This proved, to my taste, a vile decoction. (Traill 1836:125)

A.15 [About new settlers] ...for eating, he has bread, or cake, and butter and potatoes, or "must-and-milk," if for supper (ground Indian corn boiled in water to the consistence of hasty pudding, then eaten with cold milk). It is the favourite dish, and most people are fond of it, from its wholesomeness and lightness, as a supper meal. Indian meal is also sometimes made into cakes, which are called Johnny cakes, — and perhaps some meat; this is the living generally of the first settling for a year or two, by those who bring little other property into the woods but their own hands....(Pickering 1831:61)

A.16 [corn or maize] is of great use to eat, when green, either boiled or roasted; when ripe, the meal, mixed with half wheaten flour, makes very good bread. In all new settlements it is made into cakes, and is almost the only bread made use of. It fattens cattle, hogs, and poultry, and is also given to horses; when it has been prepared with lye, which takes off the rind, it is very good in soup. (Grece 1819:144)

A.17 The manner in which we lived was not very

splendid but sufficiently accorded with the country and our recent arrival. The house had no oven. One had been built, which was fallen to decay. The bread we eat was consequently either thin cakes or loaves, baked in a pan. We could sometimes, but not regularly, have bread from York....It was not always possible to obtain joints of fresh meat when wanted. There are no butchers' stalls in country places, at which a constant supply of meat is provided. We were consequently often debarred from such food for several days together, and only had salted pork, and puddings or pies; with fish, when I could find some opportunity to go to York. Our usual drink was tea, into which a little whiskey or brandy had been infused. Sometimes a little wine and water. Mrs. F. occasionally poured ale for herself at the price of eight pence per quart. Butter, milk, cheese etc. are attainable, but not at lower prices than in England. (Fidler 1832:158)

A.18 [In 1837] As for provisions, bread, potatoes, and pork, with the produce of the dairy, are the unfailing ones, but they have been varied here by beef, venison, pigeon pies, and vegetables, of which there are, or may be, plenty in their seasons. There is very little in the way of fruit. John [the writer's brother] has some gooseberry and currant trees planted in his garden. These grow wild in the woods, and of the wild raspberry there is such a plenty that they are sold at a shilling a pailful, gathered, I fancy, by the Indians. We were too late for these, and the cranberries, which are likewise plentiful, are not come in. At Toronto there was a miserable display of fruit in the market, and at the Government House, where there was every other luxury and elegance, one dish of the most wretched strawberries was the only fresh fruit they could give us in the middle of July. (Langton 1964:36).

A.19 [In January 1839] Our larder now allows plenty of variety in that meal [dinner]. It is provoking that we should have our best cheer at the season when we have no one to partake of it, and in the summer, when we saw more company, and wished for something more than boiled or fried pork, we had to run the changes upon roast chicken, boiled chicken, hashed chicken, chicken rice, and chicken pie. I should say we used to get an accidental dish of fish when the Indians had been about. At present we do not shine much in the puddling line for want of eggs; and though our bread is super-excellent, butter at this season cannot be boasted of. By the bye, the Dunsfords [neighbours] laid in three hundred weight of butter for their winter supply, and consumed fifty pounds in three weeks. (Langton 1964:79)

A.20 [A Scotsman living in Dumfries Twp. writing back to Glasgow on the cost of provisions] Wheat, 2s. per bushel, and by taking it to the mill we have 40 lb. of flour in return. Potatoes, 1s. per bushel; beef, from 10s. to 14s. per cwt.; pork, 6s. per cwt.; oatmeal, 2s. per 25 lb. — but there is very little of it used in this country; butter, 5d.; eggs, 3d. per dozen; tea, best green, 3s. 6d. and 4s. per lb.; black, 2s. per lb.; sugar, 5d. per lb. (Fyfe 1861:98)

Provisions as Settlement Progresses

A.21 Large farmers in an old cleared country live remarkably well, and enjoy within themselves all the substantial comforts of life....The contrast between the pork and potato diet (and sometimes of potatoes alone without the pork), in the Backwoods, is really striking. (Moodie 1959:68)

A.22 The emigrant must not expect to live very comfortably at first. Pork, bread, and what vegetables he may raise, will form the chief part of his diet for perhaps two years. To these articles he may occasionally add venison, if he is a tolerable sportsman. The various kinds of grains which the farmers raise, enable them to enjoy a great many sorts of bread that are not known in Britain. Buck-wheat, rye, and Indian corn, make excellent cakes; and they have several ways of using flour, besides that of baking it into loaves. All the above mentioned articles, conjoined with vegetables, poultry, and milk, which every settler can have in course of time without much trouble or expense, afford sufficient materials for the support of an abundant and comfortable table. In Upper Canada, the people live much better than persons of a similar class in Britain; and to have proof of this, it is only necessary to visit almost any hut in the back woods. (Howison 1821:256)

A.23 ...in a few years some of the most thrifty settlers possess a yoke of oxen and a sled, also a cow or two, and a few hogs, which fed mostly upon beechnuts. These, with a quantity of fowls, kept the larder better supplied with such varieties as beechnut-fed pork, eggs, very leaky milk and butter, maple sugar and molasses. These, with potatoes, constituted the principal food of the settlers in those days. (Kennedy 1973:135)

A.24 ...by dint of active exertion without-doors, and economy and good management within, the family were maintained with respectability: in short, we enjoyed during our sojourn many of the comforts of a cleared farm; poultry of every kind, beef of their own killing, excellent mutton and pork: we had a

variety of preserves at our tea-table, with honey in the comb, delicious butter, and good cheese, with divers sorts of cakes; a kind of little pancake, made from the flour of buck-wheat, which are made in a batter, and raised with barm, afterwards dropped into boiling lard, and fried; also a preparation made of Indian corn-flour, called *suppome-cake*, which is fried in slices, and eaten with maple-syrup, were among the novelties of our breakfast-fare. (Traill 1836:273-74).

A.25 The Canadians call potatoes, vegetables, pickles, and preserves, by the indiscriminate appellation of *sace*, and think themselves badly off if they have not *sace* in all its varieties, at every meal. In fact, there are no people who live so luxuriously as the yeoman of Upper Canada. In travelling, they pay as much for their dinners and suppers as gentlemen do; and this prevails even among the labouring classes. (Radcliff 1953:97)

A.26 In consequence of fruit being so exceedingly prolific, the natives and settlers in Canada make vast quantities of preserves, and this will sufficiently account for the fact that, in the poorest houses and worst inns in the country the visitor is sure to meet with sweet-meats of all kinds. They generally make four meals *per diem*; and at every meal they introduce preserves in some one shape or another. (Warr 1847:49-50)

A.27 [At a farm near Hamilton] The Barton Lodge garden is very productive, as is also the farm, so that the family have an abundance of fruit and vegetables, eggs, milk, butter, and cheese. They kill their own mutton and beef, pork, lamb, and veal; they grow their own corn, and bake their own bread, brew their own beer, and make their own candles, and much of the sugar; indeed, except groceries, wines and spirits, the farm supplies everything they require. (Kingston 1856:I:329)

A.28 No people on earth live better than the Canadians, so far as eating and drinking justify the use of that expression; for they may truly be said "to fare sumptuously every day." Their breakfasts not unfrequently consist of twelve or fourteen different ingredients, which are of the most heterogeneous nature. Green tea and fried pork, honey-comb and salted salmon, pound-cake and pickled cucumbers, stewed chickens and apple tarts, maple-molasses and pease-pudding, ginger-bread and sour crout, are to be found at almost every table. The dinner differs not at all from the breakfast; and the afternoon repast, which they term "supper," is equally substantial. (Talbot 1824:II:67)

A.29 Our table [at her home in Toronto], however, is pretty well supplied. Beef is tolerable, but lean; mutton bad, scarce, and dearer than beef; pork excellent and delicate, being fattened principally on Indian corn. The fish is of many various kinds, and delicious. During the whole winter we had black-bass and white-fish, caught in holes in the ice, and brought down by the Indians. Venison, game, and wild fowl are always to be had; the quails, which are caught in immense numbers near Toronto, are most delicate eating; I lived on them when I could eat nothing else. What they call partridge here is a small species of pheasant, also very good; and now we are promised snipes and woodcocks in abundance. The wild goose is also excellent eating when well cooked....Those who have farms near the city, or a country establishment of their own, raise poultry and vegetables for their own table. As yet I have seen no vegetables whatever but potatoes; even in the best seasons they are not readily to be procured in the market. (Jameson 1838:I:268-69)

A.30 You can procure all the necessities, and most of the luxuries of life, on comparative easy terms at Toronto. Wines and groceries are not high; and the dinner-table may be set out as richly and as well as at New York, excepting only in pine-apples and other tropical fruits, and in the summer the luxury of ice. In the fall of the year, and in winter, cod, oysters, lobsters, and other fish are brought to Toronto in a fresh state, or frozen, such is the rapidity of transport by the canals, railroads, or on the snow. (Bonnycastle 1842:188)

Frying Pan Cookery and Stoves

A.31 Soup is unknown in these parts....The gridiron, if to be found at all, is only an ornamental not a useful implement...its place is usurped by the frying-pan, and everything is deluged with grease and butter. (Dunlop 1967:98)

A.32 [At a hotel in Goderich, 1833] The kitchen is good, but there are few cooking utensils to be seen, but this is of no consequence as all Canadian cookery is done in the frying pan. (Proudfoot 1922:85)

A.33 [Supper in a Bush camp] The next operation of interest was the preparation for supper....putting some flour into the large tin dish aforesaid, made a couple of most substantial cakes, each of which exactly covered the bottom of the frying-pan....The frying-pan, having done its duty as an oven, next appeared

in a new character as a pot, for some slices of salt pork being put into it, it was immediately filled to the brim with water, and the pork boiled therein, until a certain proportion of the superabundant salt was extracted. The water being then poured off it resumed its legitimate office as a frying-pan, and the rashers kept hissing and crackling away...until they were "done brown". Tea having been previously made, the frying-pan was lifted off the fire, and with a versatility of character that can surely only belong to Canadian frying-pans, it now discharged the functions of a gravy dish. (Darling 1849:63)

A.34 [Recalling his childhood home in the Hamilton area] She [the writer's mother] could do any housework. Here is a summary of it: She made tripe and sausages — cooked very well — roast heart — calf's head with brain sauce — roasted beef on a hook before a great fire, and below it made Yorkshire puddings — blood puddings — yet all this was done by open fires or in pots hung upon cranes, as we called them, of iron, worked into the stone or brick fire-jams. On these cranes the pots were hung by hooks — roasts of all kinds were cooked thus — turkeys, geese and ducks were cooked by iron spits or strong rods or in large tin pans before the fire, and turned around (if on spits) on all sides. Such roasts were better than those now cooked in close stoves. We had no cooking stoves in my early days or before 1834 — perhaps later. All cooking was done in fire-places — baking in brick ovens or before fires. (Durand 1897:38)

Use of Meat

A.35 [Farm workers]...have animal food three times a day, potatoes frequently, and tea and pies are never wanting. I had no love for the pie institution and as little for the tea they use — all green. (Logan 1838:86)

A.36 ...if he [the British immigrant] never removes out of the Canadas into the United States, he retains the habits of frugality that he carries with him from Europe, and instead of eating three flesh meals per diem, accompanied with tea, cream, and so on, he will be satisfied with a small quantity of meat, and other inferior food, sufficiently nourishing and wholesome for his purpose, but unaccompanied with the expensive comforts of an American meal. (Cattermole 1831:125)

A.37 [According to Canadian law] All pork which an inspector shall find to be fat and merchantable, shall be cut in pieces as nearly square as may be, and not

exceeding six nor less than four pounds weight, and shall be sorted and divided into four sorts, to be denominated [from best to poorest quality] respectively "Mess," "Prime Mess," "Prime," and "Cargo Pork"....each barrel, in which pork of any of the foregoing descriptions may be packed or repacked, shall contain two hundred pounds, and each tierce three hundred pounds; and each half-barrel, or half tierce, one-half those quantities respectively....every barrel of fresh beef or pork shall be well salted with 75 pounds and every tierce with 112 pounds of good salt.... (Keele 1844:27-29)

B. MEAL TIMES AND MEAL ORDER

B.1 Dinner is at one o'clock and tea at six, and all meals are the same. There is no supper in this country. (Proudfoot 1915:75)

B.2 [1823] We breakfast at seven, dine at noon, have tea at eight and to bed at ten or eleven. (Stewart 1889:42)

B.3 On the horn being sounded at 12 o'clock, which is the usual way of summoning persons at work round a farm to their dinners....(Christmas 1849:I:123)

B.4 [The Thornhill district in 1828] You will notice that the fashion of blowing horns to give notice of dinner is not of our introduction. Between eleven-thirty and twelve-thirty we hear them in all directions. (O'Brien 1968:29)

B.5 [In 1839] We altered our breakfast hour for the summer this morning; now we assemble at half-past seven, and next week [second week of April] we begin dining in the middle of the day. (Langton 1964:85)

B.6 [At home in the Lake Simcoe area in 1835] We then sit steadily to lessons till dinner time — one o'clock. (O'Brien 1968:239)

B.7 We dine at two but dinner does not make any interruption to our proceedings. (O'Brien 1968:18)

B.8 ...I engaged to dine at Mr. N_____ 's, where I joined them a little after seven o'clock. (Shirreff 1835:155)

B.9 [An attempt at a humorous story that links diet and the dinner hour to American, or "republican", and British values] "I lived a republican of the strictest sect imaginable...with a one o'clock dinner of pork, molasses, and pumpkin pie, formed the principle

ingredients of my every day's bill of fare....But now that everything is British, and for the most part conservative, I am...reduced to the unaltermative of dining at eight o'clock in the night, upon something nice, as it is ludicrously, in my opinion, termed, such as a mutton chop or beef stake". (C.H.C. 1846:203)

B.10 The breakfast-hour was nominally seven, and afterwards Mr. Forrest went out to his farm....We dined at the mediaeval hour of twelve, and everything was of home raising. Fresh meat is a rarity; but a calf had been killed, and furnished dinners for seven days, and the most marvellous thing was, that each day it was dressed in a different manner....A home-fed pig, one of eleven slaughtered on one fell day, produced the excellent ham; the squash and potatoes were from the garden; and the bread and beer were from home-grown wheat and hops. (Bird 1966:207)

B.11 [At harvest time] We went home to breakfast at eight, returned in an hour, worked until one, when we had dinner, resumed our labour at two, and continued until six. It is customary to give every two men a bottle of whiskey to mix with the water. The food for breakfast is porridge and milk, for dinner pork and potatoes. (Logan 1838:48)

B.12 [Boarding arrangements in town] Certain families take in borders, and spread usually one table at stated hours — say seven or eight in the morning for breakfast; twelve, one, or two for dinner; and six or seven for tea, or supper, as it is here called. Breakfast commonly consists, at even the most indifferent tables, of various meats, such as steaks, chops, ham and eggs, or bacon, with and abundance of wheaten bread, baked or roasted potatoes, and coffee or tea. Abundance of butcher-meat at dinner again, soup now and then, poultry on occasions, and almost, if not always, every day a dessert of pie or pudding, closes the substantial meal. Many families serve up liberally preserved apples, and also tea or coffee to dinner. To those exercised in the open air, butcher-meat is served up again at the seven o'clock supper, with abundance of preserves of apples, plums, peaches, or cranberries, with coffee or tea. (Brown 1851:369)

B.13 [Boarding arrangements in Coburg] Breakfast was at half-past seven, dinner at one, and supper at seven in the evening. Breakfast consisted of tea, coffee, beef-steak, cold meat, potatoes, bread, butter, and eggs. At dinner there was sometimes soup for a change, always a roast of either beef or mutton, sometimes fowls, always cold meat, and frequently ham besides. Some excellent vegetables usually gave

us their presence, such as cabbage, cucumbers, potatoes, and peas, with either pies, tarts, or puddings to finish off with. There were spirits and wine at dinner every day, and each guest could help himself according to his desire. Supper consisted of tea, various kinds of cold meat, fruit pies or apple sauce, butter, generally four kinds of bread, and frequently currants or cherries in sweet sauce. (Fowler 1832:64-5)

B.14 [On a Lake steamboat] The food generally placed before us for dinner, was salt pork, potatoes, bread, water, and salt; tea, bread and butter, and sometimes salt pork, for breakfast and tea; no supper. (Fidler 1832:151)

B.15 [At a Toronto hotel in 1837] Our terms as usual, taking our meals in the public rooms — the hours more like English — eight o'clock for breakfast, luncheon at one, and dinner at five. We are allowed tea in our private room. (Langton 1964:17)

C. TEA = SUPPER IN CANADA

C.1 ...tea, or — as they [Canadians] call the afternoon repast — "supper"... (Talbot 1824:II:35)

C.2 Mrs. Drake was seated with Mr. M_____ at tea, or supper, as it is generally called... (Shirreff 1835:198)

C.3 ...a meal, which English people would have regarded as a combination of tea and supper, and which, in Canada, very generally answers the purpose of both. (Darling 1849:47)

C.4 [On a steamboat]...the steward's bell sounded for tea, or supper as it is called in America.... (Chambers 1857:94)

C.5 ...till tea, or as they called it, supper; for Canadians generally take only three meals a day. (Geikie 1865:155)

D. BREAKFAST

D.1 [At a camp in the bush]...eggs were spluttering in a frying-pan, a kettle suspended from a green bough was vigorously boiling, and in a few minutes a sumptuous breakfast was spread upon a piece of clean naked granite rock. (Head 1846:128-29)

D.2 ...we stopped at a farm-house to breakfast...could furnish us with a few quarts of milk. (Bell 1824: Letter VIII)

D.3 The family with which my relative resided were about to sit down to breakfast, and I tasted, for the first time, mash, or Indian corn meal porridge. (Shirreff 1835:104)

D.4 ...[At a backwoods's log-cabin near Lake Huron] I got my breakfast; not forgetting my new guest [a stray dog called Rover]. I had nothing for myself but bread and salt pork, which I shared with him. (Head 1829:230)

D.5 We made an early breakfast off fried sausages, and the never-failing ham and eggs, and were soon again in the saddle. (Strickland 1853:I:228)

D.6 This morning the same party [as had attended the dinner in quote E.15] assembled to tea, coffee, and water porridge — a great favourite with most of the backwoodsmen. (Langton 1964: 66)

D.7 [Breakfast in camp] Then I got up and made on a good fire and prepared a good pot of potatoes, to be ready for breakfast, and I got some hemlock to make hot tea, baked more cakes or scones, and fried pork. (Kennedy 1973:24)

D.8 ...I enjoyed the company of an old Irishwoman, cooking pork, potatoes, apples, and tea to breakfast.... (Shirreff 1835:177)

D.9 Indeed, nobody uses porridge in this country. The children breakfast on fried ham and potatoes, and tea and bread, and they like it far better than porridge.... The bread is all baked in the house.... (Proudfoot 1915:75)

D.10 [At a home on the Credit River] I found breakfast laid in the verandah; excellent tea and coffee, rich cream, delicious hot cakes, new-laid eggs — a banquet fit for a king! (Jameson 1838:I:304)

D.11 [Not finding the local inn open] Went on to the next house, a private one, where I procured some fried meat, boiled potatoes, tea, bread and butter, for which they could not be prevailed on to accept any thing! (Pickering 1831:70)

D.12 ...a substantial breakfast, at which all the farm luxuries — as Johnny cake, Indian corn pancakes, buckwheat ditto, several sorts of jam, cheese, and "apple sauce"— were produced in liberal profusion, besides fresh eggs, and rashers from what lately was the best "hog" on the farm. (Copleston 1861: 53)

D.13 There were fine dry potatoes, roast wild pigeon,

fried pork, cakes, butter, eggs, milk, "China tea", and chocolate — which last was a brown-coloured extract of cherry-tree bark, sassafras root, and wild sarsaparilla, warmly recommended by our host as "first-rate bitters". Declining this latter beverage, we made a hearty meal. (Thompson 1884:46)

D.14 After breakfast the next morning, in grand style, with cakes, "apple sauce" in platefuls, bread white as snow, meat, butter, cream, cheese, fritters, and colorless green tea of the very worse description.... (Geikie 1865:173-4)

E. DINNER

E.1 [At home in 1830] It is almost dinner time and only a piece of cold pie left to eat. (O'Brien 1968:119)

E.2 ...dined on roast beef and first-rate plum pudding. (Domett 1955:57)

E.3 [In a cottage near the Grand River, the hostess]...invited us to partake of her dinner, such as it was. We thanked her, and soon made a hearty repast upon green tea, bread and eggs. (Wilkie 1837:167)

E.4 [Visiting a house while on a hunting party in the backwoods] They soon got us some fish just caught for dinner, which, with brown bread and spring water, constituted a fare simple enough for a hermit's taste. (Godley 1844:I:124)

E.5 I had baked an eel-pie for dinner, which if prepared well is by no means an unsavory dish. Malcolm had cleaned some green-peas and washed the first young potatoes we had drawn that season....The dinner at length was put upon the table. The vegetables were remarkably fine, and the pie looked very nice. (Moodie 1986:378)

E.6 ... I returned to Peterboro' to dine with the Government agent, upon a noble muskalongy and a haunch of forest venison, assisted by an excellent wine: a luxury which the settler ought rarely to indulge in in this country, where the price of a bottle of wine is about equivalent to that of an acre of forest land. (Need 1838:43)

E.7 [Dinner with Colonel Thomas Talbot] We had a well-dressed dish of roast meat and mashed potatoes, and a good bottle of port. The host, being of the old school of hospitality, pressed us to drink, which we declined, after having had a couple of glasses.

(Alexander 1849:I:146)

E.8 [At Guelph] The dinner itself was quite a professional spread, and consisted of a fine fat roast goose at the top, and another at the bottom — a large dish of cabbage in the centre, and a plate of hard dumplings on each side....The dinner was certainly excellent of its kind; and in a new settlement where nothing but salt pork and beef could be obtained. (Strickland 1853:I:221)

E.9 ...whiskey and water (*horribile dictu*), the boiled pork and excellent vegetables, the "short sauce" of apples....(Domett 1955:52)

E.10 The dinner consisted of fried pork, the standard dish of the country, eggs, new potatoes, and pancakes. Homely as the fare may be considered, it has seldom been my fate to rise from table more gratified with a repast, each dish being excellent in its kind.... (Shirreff 1835:120)

E.11 [A backwoods dinner in 1835] My dinner gave the last touch to my character as Amphitryon. I have given more abundant dinners but never a more genteel or better cooked one. At the top fried bass, bottom haunch of venison, done to a turn and kept to an hour, with currant jelly sauce, one side a brace of roasted partridges with bread sauce and the other a curry — A curry!!! — a bright effort of my own genius. A half dollar's worth of curry powder from Toronto has given six dishes for gala days; the material, what was it? a cheek of common pickled pork boiled in three waters till all the salt and rancidity was away and then stewed down until very tender, the gravy a little enriched with portable soup — and an excellent dish it makes. (Langton 1926:137-38)

E.12 [In camp while travelling in Lake Huron] I had provided a pailful of fresh eggs, potatoes, some loaf-bread, butter, sugar, tea, coffee, pepper, salt, mustard, and, I think, some sort of meat....enjoyed a hearty and, I trust, by no means graceless meal; finished with a capital cup of coffee....(Christmas 1849:I:252)

E.13 [A dinner party at home in 1839] The dinner served up to these illustrious personages [her guests] was soup at the top, removed by (I am told) a very bad curry of my manufacture, boiled pork at the bottom, fried pork and ham at the two sides. Second course, pudding and tart. My biscuits, I presume, which appeared at dessert, were better than my curry....(Langton 1964:96)

E.14 [At a bee] Salt beef and salt pork were to form the centre dishes at the dinner, but there was to be a great array of pies and tarts for which we bought part of the fruit...there were pumpkins, which we got from settlers near at hand, and we had plums enough, very good though wild, from trees in our own bush. Tea, with cream to every one's taste, formed the principal beverage, though most of the men wanted to get whisky besides. (Geikie 1865:44-5)

E.15 [In 1838] Perhaps you would like to know what we gave them [the guests] for dinner. Soup, boiled pork (the national dish), stewed goose, and chicken pie, with vegetables. Second course — plum pudding, apple-tart, and a trifle. (Langton 1964:65-6)

E.16 A dinner in the country in Canada, taken at the house of some substantial yeoman, is a very different affair from a dinner in town. The table literally groans with good cheer....I have sat down to a table of this kind in the country, with only Mr. M. and myself as guests, and we have been served with a dinner that would have amply fed twenty people. Fowls of several sorts, ham, and joints of roast and boiled meat, besides quantities of pies, puddings, custards, and cakes. Cheese is invariably offered to you with apple pie; and several little glass dishes are ranged round your plate, for preserves, honey, and apple sauce, which latter dainty is never wanting at a country feast. (Moodie 1959:67-68)

E.17 [In 1840] The dinner prepared was soup at the top, removed by a boiled fillet of veal, pork at bottom; corners, spring chickens, ham and veal steaks, and macaroni. Second course, pudding, tart, trifle, and cheese cakes....(Langton 1964:124)

F. SUPPER OR TEA

F.1 [Visiting a house while on a hunting party] We found that the old lady, in compliment to our country [Ireland], had prepared an Irish stew of the buck which we had killed the day before... (Godley 1844:I:127)

F.2 ...this meal...consisted of nothing more than rashers of bacon and fried eggs. (Head 1829:277)

F.3 [1830s near Ridgetown]...I asked her if she could get supper for two. She answered in the affirmative, and asked me to walk in and take a seat, remarking at the same time that victuals were scarce, and not much variety. In fact, pork and buckwheat cakes was the standing dish. (Baby 1896:30)

F.4 [In camp after rowing a boat along Lake Huron] ...our supper of beef and some hard eggs, with a cup of tea, without milk, which we got ready at a fire on the beach. (Geikie 1865:272)

F.5 [In the Talbot settlement about sunset] Its inhabitants had recently come to the settlement, and were of course very poor. They presented me with bread, pork, and tea without sugar, and made a bed for me on the floor. (Howison 1821:219)

F.6 He made us extremely welcome, and gave us a hearty supper of pea-soup and shanty cake, and plenty of hot toddy to cheer us after our day's toil. (Strickland 1853:II:195)

F.7 The frying pan...not only supplies successions of savory pork, but also of bread or paste cakes, not less enticing from the oily drippings of the meat with which they are fried. After a hard day's work in the Bush, this is no unwelcome supper. Your *epicures* sometimes bring biscuits. (Radcliff 1953:15)

F.8 [At a camp in the bush] The first thing we did was to light the candle and then make on a great fire and put the kettle on, and get some food ready as fast as possible, for we were all very hungry, especially these poor women and children. We soon got some ham and bread and a good cup of tea.... (Kennedy 1973:44-5)

F.9 [First meal in a backwoods's home] ...cheerfully and thankfully lay down to rest after a supper of tea, bread and butter, and pork. (Stewart 1905:40)

F.10 I supped here on eggs and radishes, and milk and bread. (Jameson 1838:II:221)

F.11 ...salt pork fried, hot potatoes, dough-nuts made of strips of dough, twisted into cork-screw forms, and fried in fat, and tea, concerning the native country of which very reasonable doubts might have been entertained. (Darling 1849:47)

F.12 [With a Scotsman near St. Clair River]...a capital supper of venison steaks fried with slices of bacon — a real backwoodsman's dish; and famous fare it was, with hot potatoes and the accompaniment of a good cup of tea. (Strickland 1853:II:122)

F.13 And a right hearty meal I made, from a display of abundance of snowy bread, excellent butter, ham in large slices, and as much tea as there might be water in the kettle, for tea is the weak point in bush fare. (Geikie 1865:155)

F.14 The inmates [of a farmer's house] made us come to their fire side, and although not much used to entertain strangers, very soon provided for us a most comfortable supper. Hot steaks, fried bacon and potatoes, and for those who preferred it, tea and toast, were served up with an alacrity and neatness which would have done credit to a regular inn. (Duncan 1823:122-23)

F.15 [In 1850]...came home about seven o'clock, and then had supper which consisted of chicken pie, cold ham, bread and butter, several kinds of cake, tea and coffee. (Van Norman 1981:33)

F.16 [Visiting a Scottish settler in Caledon, 1831] The supper consisted of viands the growth and produce of his place. On the table were placed curds and cream, cheese, butter, new potatoes, new bread, of flour the growth and manufacture of 1831, Caledon-made wine, sugar of the Canadian maple, and tea from China, the latter being the only foreign article, except salt. (Mackenzie 1833:240)

F.17 [At Lieut Buller R.N. in 1834] Tea and supper was quickly produced — cold meat, eggs, coffee, excellent bread and butter etc. spoke favourably of life in the back woods. Buller produced oranges, soda-powders, brandy, the former of which were really luxuries. Of course the decanters, cups, saucers and the rest of the table apparatus were such as a gentlemen use in England....All was excessively neat and tasteful. (Domett 1955:56)

F.18 [Entertaining a merchant and his wife visiting from Montreal] At the proper time supper was announced, and the visitors, with the family, were gathered round the table, which groaned, metaphorically speaking, under the load it bore. There were turkey, beef and ham, bread and the favorite short cake, sweet cakes in endless variety, pies, preserves, sauces, tea, coffee, cider, and what not. The visitors were amazed, as they might well be, at the lavish display of cooking. (Haight 1885:14)

G. TEA, AND TEA SUBSTITUTES

G.1 [On Canadian farms]...tea and coffee take the place of beer and spirits, and are used at every meal. (Copleston 1861:106)

G.2 In Canada West, a doctor said one half of his practice was owing to green tea; the people drink it strong and three times a-day: our present host treated us to mawkish bush-tea, made from the leaves of the forest. (Alexander 1849:I:150)

G.3 [Writing about Canadian taverns] Strong green tea is the beverage at every meal, black being rarely taken. (Chesshyre 1864:123)

G.4 A herb, called INDIAN TEA, is employed as a substitute for that of China, and is considered by some of the Canadians to be little inferior to the best Congo. But they use any thing and every thing in lieu of that incomparable plant. Hemlock boughs, beechen chips, strawberry, blackberry, and currant leaves, with spice wood, spear-mint, peppermint, maple-buds, catenup, sarsaparilla, and birch bark, are more commonly found at a Canadian tea-table, if I may so call it, than Souchong, Hyson, or Congo. They also use peas, wheat, rye, Indian corn, burnt flour, and toasted barley, as substitutes for coffee. (Talbot 1824:I:322-23)

G.5 Different kinds of herbs are produced in the woods, which are gathered and used as substitutes for tea. One of these species is denominated velvet tea, and abounds in marshy situations. Its leaves are green on the one side, and yellow on the other. There is another species called sanspareil, or unequalled. Another kind is called maiden hair. The inner bark of the mapple is likewise used in place of tea. A species of ever-green, is denominated winter green tea. (M'Donald 1823:18)

G.6 Common black and green teas, obtainable on the average at 2s. 6d. currency per lb., have very few consumers in Upper Canada beyond the poorer classes in the towns; while the demand for old hyson and gunpowder teas, sold retail at the respective prices of 4s. 4½d. and 5s. currency per lb., is also very limited. What, then, is the description of tea in general use in Canada? and whence it is supplied? are questions that naturally suggest themselves. It is a sort of young hyson, of tolerably good quality, costing from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per lb. to the consumer; and must, from the latter circumstance alone, even if popular testimony did not prove it, have been procured from the United States through the intervention of smuggling. (Preston 1840:II:152-3)

H. FOOD DESCRIPTIONS IN OTHER PROVINCES

H.1 [At a roadside inn in Nova Scotia] Half-way to Windsor, the coach stopped, professedly for dinner; but the meal...was of no such distinct character.... [A] table was spread with an entangled complication of dinner and tea. As I could never acquire the habit of taking tea at one o'clock as a finish to a solid meal, I declined the offer of a cup; but all the rest of the

company, chiefly farmers, made this their only beverage....Not a drop of intoxicating liquor was consumed....I cannot say I admire the fashion of taking tea with dinner, any more than that of beginning breakfast with potatoes, which seemed everywhere common....(Chambers 1857:37).

H.2 [Stopping at an inn near Truro, Nova Scotia, in 1854] ...the meal by no means answered to our English ideas of dinner. A cup of tea was placed by each plate; and after the company, principally consisting of agricultural settlers, had made a substantial meal of mutton, and the potatoes for which the country is famous, they solaced themselves with this beverage. No intoxicating liquor was placed upon the table....(Bird 1966:29)

H.3 [Commenting on the food she had had in Nova Scotia] As a colonial dinner is an aggregate of dinner and tea, so a colonial breakfast is a curious complication of breakfast and dinner, combining, I think, the advantages of both. It is only an extension of the Highland breakfast; fish of several sorts, meat, eggs, and potatoes, buckwheat fritters and Johnny Cake, being served with the tea and coffee. (Bird 1966:33)

I. "ETHNIC" FOODWAYS IN THE NEW WORLD

I.1 [Describing French-Canadians in the Detroit River area] Milk, black or brown bread, and soups, form the staple diet of the people all year round. (Bigsby 1850:235)

I.2 [Discussing the diet of emigrants on the transatlantic voyage, which could take anywhere from three to ten weeks] Those who have been accustomed to use English diet, generally take with them biscuit, cheese, beef, pork, tea, potted herrings, split peas for soup, tea, sugar, flour, onions, porter, ale, and gin, mustard, vinegar, pepper, and milk — which last, after having been boiled, should be carefully sealed up in jars, and if 1 lb. of loaf sugar be added to it, there is no danger of its not keeping fresh during the voyage.

But the Irish and Highland Scotch, unaccustomed to so many good things, some of which they have, perhaps, never tasted in their lives, are usually content with a supply for each individual, consisting of 4st. [1 stone = 14 lb] of oatmeal, 4st. of cutlings for gruel, 4st. of biscuit, ½st. of sugar, ¼lb. of tea, 4st. of butter, 20st. of potatoes, and a few dozen of eggs, which should be well greased, to exclude the air, and consequently preserve them fresh. I must add a *quart*

or two of whiskey, for emergencies, and no considerate agent would recommend or allow a much greater quantity. (Doyle 1831:84-85)

I.3 [A Scottish emigrant describing the food he and his countrymen ate on the transatlantic voyage to Canada in 1844] Almost the only food that I could take was water brose [porridge]. Tea and coffee was not relished at all....we engaged two men to light the fire every morning at six o'clock. This did first rate as a good fire soon set the brose kettles and the porrage pans a-boiling. Breakfast was generally over by eight o'clock. By nine the fire was filled with the first round of dinner pots. Notwithstanding which the last dinner parties (if the weather was at all moderate) generally had to keep fashionable hours.

The almost universal supper was brachin [another type of porridge] and treacle the cooking of which commenced about five o'clock and lasted a couple of hours, as cooking and eating was nearly all we had either for work or amusement you need not be surprised when I say that we had some new fashioned dishes at times. We made several puddings out of broken ship biscuits and got them baked in the cooks oven, and we more than once had pancakes or sauty bannocks [salted oatmeal flatcakes]. Some tried to make sowens [a fermented oatmeal porridge] without sids [oat husks] and some who had seen farther before them had brought sowens in a dry state like a cheese or lump of chalk. As the cook sometimes had a pie to cover and other little jobs in the baking line the bakers were great favourites of Peters and also no losers as we had sometimes a turnip or stock of green kail to put in our broth after we were a month at sea. (Thomson 1974:46-47)

I.4 [On a lake steamer describing a Scottish settler who had lived in both Ontario and New York] He...greatly preferred American butcher-meat three times a-day, to the oatmeal porridge, barley bread, and sour milk of Scotland. (Shirreff 1835:145)

I.5 [Discussing a Scottish immigrant in Canada] This Forfarshire ploughman....had better food in this country, although he would not say but with his brose [porridge] and 'bothy' [cottage] he was tolerably contented in Scotland. (Brown 1851:366)

I.6 [A Scottish emigrant, the same as in I.3, describing food supplies in Montreal in 1844] The oats that they bring to market are very bad. They would not turn out much meal. They are used only for horses. There is only one mill in Montreal where oat meal is made. The Scotch people all seem to turn English when they come here and to live on roast

I.7 It is very remarkable, that although the present population of this fine Province is composed of emigrants from almost every European nation, and from every State of North America, there should be so little difference in their manners, customs, and habits of life. Germans, Hollanders, French, English, Scotch, and Irish after a few years' residence in Canada, forget their national customs and peculiarities, and become, in almost every particular, entirely assimilated to the people of America....It has often afforded me much merriment to witness half a dozen Irish mountainers or Scotch Highlanders, — who, in their native country had seldom, except "on some high festival of once a year," sat down to a more luxurious meal than "Murphies" and buttermilk, or to an oaten cake and porridge, — surrounding a table in Canada which groaned beneath the weight of a profusion of sweetmeats and fine fruits, and "doing the honours" with all the politeness of newly-elected Aldermen. (Talbot 1824:II:9-11)

I.8 [Recommendations for feeding agricultural labourers] In Canada, as I have mentioned, labourers must also be fed; and that not as the Irish peasantry are wont to be, for they must have bread and meat at each meal, with tea for their breakfasts and suppers, and they will be not a little discontented if they be not allowed grog at dinner. When you have potatoes, they will take a few when they dine, but quite scorn the vulgar Irish idea of making them the foundation of each meal — in fact, they must live as you do yourself. (An Ex-Settler 1835:78-79)

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